

**Department of Political Science**  
**University of Toronto**  
**POL 220H1-F**  
**Fall Term 2023**  
**Immigration, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship in Canada**  
**Tuesdays 3-5**

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**Office Hours: Wednesdays 11-1**

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This course asks three questions that are central to just about any political community, especially nation states: Who belongs? On what terms? And to what end? These questions have been an enduring - and enduringly challenging - part of Canadian politics since well before Confederation established what we now call Canada. They are central to what is often called the “national” question – that is Canada’s relationship to Quebec and to French Canada. They go to the heart of Canada’s relationship with Indigenous peoples. And these questions of belonging animate the themes of this course – immigration, multiculturalism, and citizenship.

The course is divided into two overlapping parts. The first part centres on the politics of immigration (that is, who is invited to join the Canadian club), the second on multiculturalism (that is, the terms of membership for those who are allowed to join the club). As this course is an introduction to these subjects, we will sample a variety of ways in which political scientists (and other scholars) have tried to make sense of, explain, and evaluate Canada’s record on immigration and multiculturalism – its citizenship regime. And through a combination of written assignments and verbal participation, we will explore some of the ways in which the personal and the political, experience and analysis, can be helpfully combined.

This course counts **both** as a credit in Canadian politics **and** as a Diversity and Identity course. While a previous course in Canadian politics (e.g. POL 214 or POL 224) is not required, it is highly recommended.

## **Format**

There are four essential elements to this course: **lectures, tutorials, readings, and written assignments.**

The **lectures** provide a roadmap to the course as a whole. They are (I flatter myself to think) essential to getting from “here” (curiosity about the course themes) to “there” (more systematic and reflective appreciation of the course themes). This is an in-person course, in which we meet every Tuesday afternoon from 3-5 on the St. George campus for lectures. You don’t earn marks for attending lectures, and I do put the lecture slides (and other materials) on the Quercus course site after each lecture. Even so, it’s in your interest to find your way to class on Tuesday afternoons. In the first place, you should understand that I typically use slides to illustrate the lecture material, not to summarize it. In other words, don’t expect to find a quick and dirty summary of the lecture posted to Quercus. Beyond this, the lectures are not drawn simply and entirely from the readings. (If they were, I would have been replaced by the forerunners of ChatGPT long ago.) So it is always possible that material covered exclusively in lecture could find its way onto, for instance, the final exam. And if that appeal to self-interest doesn’t work – just take pity on me. There is nothing more dispiriting to a professor than lecturing to a half-empty lecture hall.

**Tutorials** are an essential part of the course. They provide an opportunity to discuss issues and questions arising from the lectures and course readings in a setting that is conducive to discussion. And the issues raised in and by the course are eminently discussable.

There will be eight (8) tutorials over the course of the semester, which means you should be expecting to attend a one-hour tutorial most weeks. **They will begin in Week 3** (the week of September 25). You will already have enrolled in a tutorial group (they are spread throughout the week). As most tutorials are now full and assigned to rooms that have strict fire-safety capacity, changing tutorials is difficult to impossible. If you absolutely must change tutorials, you must contact Chris Greenaway (whose email is listed at the top of this syllabus). Either your TA or I will provide a more precise tutorial schedule once the course begins.

As a crude incentive to persuade you to attend tutorials, 5% of your final mark will be determined by attendance at tutorials; another 5% will be allocated on the basis of the quality of your participation. If you have questions about the course, either substantive or structural, you should speak first with your TA. They are the first point of contact for all students.

**Readings:** Somewhat surprisingly, there are very few large undergraduate courses devoted to the themes of immigration and multiculturalism offered at Canadian universities. As a result, and unlike courses like POL 214, there is no market for textbooks that provide a *tour d'horizon* of the field. (That's probably a good thing, actually.) The result is that I have cobbled together a customized menu of readings that covers the topics that I want to lecture on (and that I think you will enjoy). If nothing else, this will save you money. There are no books that you need to purchase. All of the readings are available online, most of them from Robarts, and all of them will be deposited to your Quercus locker (for which you have the combination). That said, it is vitally important that you do the readings; they typically amount to 50-60 pages per week. I have curated readings that I think are a terrific introduction to the themes of the course. Your task is to engage with them. Don't let me down!

### **Written assignments:**

- 1) **Reading Responses:** You will be asked to submit **one** short essay (maximum= 800 words or about 3 double-spaced pages each) that will take the form of a response to a prompt that I will provide - related to one or more of the course readings in the first half of the course. I will provide **three** topics/weeks/readings from which to choose, with firm due dates spread throughout the first half of the term so that you can choose a topic that you both find interesting and that suits your schedule. The reading response is worth **20% of the final grade**. If you wish, you may submit a second response; we will count the better of the two. (Two is the maximum you may submit.) **Late penalty – 2% per day or partial day (including weekends).**
- 2) **Summative Assignment:** One of the themes we will explore in this course is the extent to which schools (especially public schools) are a site for the politics of multiculturalism both in Canada and elsewhere. Your task will be to reflect on and assess **your** educational experience (whether in Canada or elsewhere) in light of the various definitions and theories of multiculturalism that we will encounter in the readings. The goal of the exercise is to connect your personal experience with the ideas and evidence that you will encounter in the readings. A more precise rubric or framework will be provided in due course to guide your reflections. This essay should be between 2,000 and 2,500 words in length. The precise question, expectations, and accompanying material will be made available by Week 8 at the latest. It will be due on the final day of classes, **Wednesday, December 6 by 11:59 pm**. The summative assignment will be worth **30% of the final grade**. The lateness penalty will be **2% per day or partial day (including weekends)**.
- 3) **Engagement: 15% of the course grade** will be allocated along three dimensions of engagement: **5%** will reflect attendance in tutorials. (As noted below, absences will be interpreted in line with the Faculty's Accommodation policy).

**5%** will reward regular and helpfully engaged participation in tutorials. (Your TA will provide more precise criteria.)

The final **5%** will be awarded for answering several (anonymous) opinion surveys that will dovetail with the material we are studying in the course. The first two survey/quizzes centre on attitudes to national identity and immigration. In order to gain credit, you must respond to them by the end of Week 3 (that is, by **Friday, September 29**). The other three will focus on attitudes to multiculturalism. They will be due within two weeks of the days on which they are posted.

The survey questions are for the most part taken from surveys that have been fielded in Canada (often many times) over the years. Marks will be credited simply for answering the survey questions; there are no right and wrong answers. The responses will also be completely anonymized, so that we will know whether you have answered the survey questions but not how you as an individual answered. More details will be provided as we go along.

- 4) **Final Exam:** There will be a **two hour final examination** in the formal examination period in December. Details about format will be announced well in advance. The final exam will be worth **35% of the final grade**.

### **Course Policies and Procedures:**

**Quercus:** This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information.

**Submitting written assignments:** All written assignments must be submitted through Quercus.

**Rough drafts and electronic copies of papers:** Students are strongly advised to keep rough/draft work *and* electronic copies of their essays and final assignment before handing them in. These should be kept at least until marked assignments have been returned to you and the grades posted on ACORN.

**Academic Integrity and Plagiarism:** *"Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>".*

Please take a look at the linked page. It provides helpful tips about how not to plagiarize. One piece of good advice is, if in doubt, better to over-reference than under-reference. I'd add another: In writing essays, don't rely too heavily on quotations. You may want to quote a passage directly because you think the way an author has expressed an idea is clear, its meaning self-evident. Of course, that is what the author wants you to think, but it often isn't true. There are often ambiguities, complexities, and contradictions lying just beneath the appealing surface. So, instead of simply repeating an author's words and ideas (in quotation marks), it is usually

better to inspect them, disassemble them, play with them, then re-construct them in your own words. You still need to attribute those ideas appropriately (see above), but in fully engaging with a text you not only add value, you plagiarize-proof your essay.

### **Grading:**

Your reading response (see above) and summative assignment (see above) will be graded by your TA. All final exams will be graded by a separate TA, Chris Greenaway. All of us on the teaching team are guided by the Undergraduate Grading Scale:

## UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS GRADING SCALE

Percentage	Letter Grade	Grade Point Value *	Grade Definition	
90-100	A+	4.0	Excellent	Strong evidence of original thinking; good organization; capacity to analyze and synthesize; superior grasp of subject matter with sound critical evaluations; evidence of extensive knowledge base.
85-89	A	4.0		
80-84	A-	3.7		
77-79	B+	3.3	Good	Evidence of grasp of subject matter, some evidence of critical capacity and analytic ability; reasonable understanding of relevant issues; evidence of familiarity with literature.
73-76	B	3.0		
70-72	B-	2.7		
67-69	C+	2.3	Adequate	Student who is profiting from his/her university experience; understanding of the subject matter; ability to develop solutions to simple problems in the material.
63-66	C	2.0		
60-62	C-	1.7		
57-59	D+	1.3	Marginal	

53-56	D	1.0		Some evidence of familiarity with subject matter and some evidence that critical and analytic skills have been developed.
50-52	D-	0.7		
0-49	F	0.0	Inadequate	Little evidence of even superficial understanding of subject matter; weakness in critical and analytic skills; with limited or irrelevant use of literature.

To ensure consistency across tutorials, the TAs and I meet as a group before marking begins to discuss how this scale maps onto a particular assignment.

### Re-grading assignments:

If you are unhappy with the grade you received on one of the assignments, you may request to have the assignment re-graded. The process or protocol for re-grading has several steps:

- 1) The first thing to do is to wait. Neither the TAs nor the professor will discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you. This “cooling off” period gives you an opportunity to marshal the evidence you need to make your case.
- 2) Your TA is your first point of contact. Since your TA marked your assignment in the first place, it is only fair to have them explain why you received the mark you did. When you reach out to your TA, you must provide a brief, written explanation (no more than 250 words) in which you explain where you believe an error has occurred and ask that it be re-graded. (Be aware, however, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same.) **You must initiate this appeal to your TA within two weeks from the time the grade and comments appeared on Quercus.**
- 3) If after re-grading you are still unhappy, you should contact the Head TA, Alex Pekic. He will determine whether to pass it along to Professor Vipond for another re-grade. Again, you must wait for 48 hours. And again, on appeal we may raise, lower, or leave your mark as it was.

### Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or Accessibility Services. Staff at Accessibility Services are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. Please call (416) 978- 8060, email [accessibility.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:accessibility.services@utoronto.ca), or visit <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca> for detailed information about the Accessibility Services at University of Toronto.

## Accommodations

It is important both for success in university and in whatever career(s) you undertake thereafter that you develop good time management skills. That's why we have deadlines. At the same time, we understand that life has a way of mocking the best laid plans. The Faculty of Arts and Science has established different ways to accommodate such life events as illness, medical emergencies, and bereavement. You should familiarize yourself with them:

*If you become ill and it affects your ability to do your academic work, consult me right away. Normally, I will ask you for documentation in support of your specific medical circumstances. This documentation can be an Absence Declaration (via ACORN) or the University's Verification of Student Illness or Injury (VOI) form. The VOI indicates the impact and severity of the illness, while protecting your privacy about the details of the nature of the illness. If you cannot submit a VOI due to limits on terms of use, you can submit a different form (like a letter from a doctor), as long as it is an original document, and it contains the same information as the VOI (including dates, academic impact, practitioner's signature, phone and registration number). For more information on the VOI, please see <http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>. For information on Absence Declaration Tool for A&S students, please see <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/absence>. If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.*

One way or another, you should follow these steps:

- 1) Reach out to your TA **before the deadline for the assignment**.
- 2) Explain the reason you need the extension using the most appropriate documentation (see immediately above).
- 3) Provide a proposal for a new deadline.

Your TA will make the final decision about what accommodation, if any, will be made. As noted above, work that is submitted late will be subject to a penalty of **2% per day**.

**Please note that these accommodations apply to tutorial attendance as they do to written assignments. In other words, if you miss a tutorial you will be marked absent and receive a mark of zero for attendance (for that tutorial) unless you are covered by one of these accommodations.**

## Drop Date

The final date by which to drop the course is **November 6, 2023**.

## **Schedule of Classes and Readings**

### **Part I: Immigration**

#### **Week 1 (September 12) Introduction**

#### **Week 2 (September 19) How We Got To Where We Are: A Brief History**

##### **Readings:**

Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, "Introduction," *The Making of the Mosaic* (Toronto: UTP, second ed. 2010), 3-21.

Andrew Stobo Sniderman and Douglas Sanderson (Amo Binashii), *Valley of the Birdtail: An Indian Reserve, a White Town, and the Road to Reconciliation* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 2022), chapter 7, "The Young Napoleon of the West," pp. 132-150.

Andrew Stobo Sniderman and Douglas Sanderson (Amo Binashii), "The Paradox at the Heart of Canada's Waves of Ukrainian Immigration," *The Globe and Mail*, December 22, 2022.

#### **Week 3 (September 26) The 1960s and 1970s: Paradigm Shifts**

##### **Readings:**



Irving Abella and Harold Troper, "'The line must be drawn somewhere': Canada and Jewish Refugees, 1933-1939," in Franca Iacovetta (ed), *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s* (Toronto: UTP, 1998), 412-445

Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), chapter 4, "Dismantling White Canada," 86-119.

Jennifer Elrick, "Bureaucratic implementation practices and the making of Canada's merit-based immigration policy," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2020.

Geoffrey Cameron, "Reluctant Partnership: A Political History of Private Sponsorship in Canada (1947-1980)," in Cameron and Labman (eds), *Strangers to Neighbours: Refugee sponsorship in context* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2020), 19-41.

## **Weeks 4 and 5 (October 3 and October 10) The Politics of Immigration**

### **Readings:**

Zack Taylor, "The Political Geography of Immigration: Party Competition for Immigrants' Votes in Canada, 1997-2019," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 18-40.

Mireille Paquet, "Federalism and Immigration in Canada," in H. Bakvis and G. Skogstad (eds), *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy* (4<sup>th</sup> ed), (Toronto: UTP, 2020), 337-362.

Keith Banting and Stuart Soroka, "A Distinctive Culture? The Sources of Public Support for Immigration in Canada, 1980-2019," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 53 (2020), 821-838.

Michael J. Donnelly, "Discrimination and Multiculturalism in Canada: Exceptional or Incoherent Attitudes?," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 166-188.

Michael J. Donnelly, *Canadian Exceptionalism: Are We Good or Are We Lucky?*, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, 2017.

## **Week 6: (October 17) Where Should We Go From Here?**

### **Guest Lecturer (first hour): Professor Joseph Carens**

Joseph Carens, "Immigrants, Political Realities, and Philosophy," lecture delivered at UC Berkeley (typescript).

Gary Gutting and Joseph Carens, "When Immigrants Lose Their Human Rights," *New York Times*, 25 November 2014. (Six pages).

Patti Tamara Lenard, "How Should We Think about Private Sponsorship of Refugees?," in Cameron and Labman (eds), *Strangers to Neighbours: Refugee sponsorship in context* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2020), 61-73.

OR Patti Tamara Lenard, "How Exceptional? Welcoming Refugees the Canadian Way," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 78-94.

Doug Saunders, *Maximum Canada: Toward a Country of 100 Million* (Toronto: Vintage, 2019), excerpts.

## **Part II: Multiculturalism and Citizenship**

### **Week 7: (October 24) Assimilation – And Resistance**

Robert Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: UTP, 2017), chapters 2, 3, and 4.

Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), pp. 49-62.

Arthur Ross, *Communal Solidarity: Immigration, Settlement, and Social Welfare in Winnipeg's Jewish Community, 1882-1930* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2019), "Conclusion,"

### **Week 8: (October 31) From Resistance to Pluralism: Wave I**

Harold Troper, "Becoming an Immigrant City: A History of Immigration into Toronto since the Second World War," in Paul Anisef and Michael Lanphier (eds), *The World in a City* (Toronto: UTP, 2003), 19-62.

Government of Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1967), excerpts.

Pierre Trudeau and others, Statements to the House of Commons on multiculturalism, 8 October 1971.

### **Reading Week (November 7) NO CLASS**

### **Week 9: (November 14) Multiculturalism in Theory and Practice: Wave II**

Will Kymlicka, "Multicultural states and intercultural citizens," *Theory and Research in Education* 1:2 (2003), 147-169.

Elisabeth Ivarsflaten and Paul Sniderman, "The challenge of Muslim inclusion: A study in thresholds," Digscore working paper, University of Bergen, 2017.

Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Policy Index, Queen's University.  
<https://www.queensu.ca/mcp/>

Randy Besco and Erin Tolley, “Does Everyone Cheer? The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada,” in Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant et al, *Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World* (Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2018), 291-318.

**Week 10: (November 21) The (Complicated) Politics of Multiculturalism: Recognition, Accommodation, and Support: Wave III**

Robert Vipond, “Heritage Moments: Customs, Traditions, and Multicultural Citizenship in Canada,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 41-61.

Elisabeth Ivarsflaten and Paul Sniderman, *The Struggle for Inclusion: Muslim Minorities and the Democratic Ethos* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022), chapter 4, pp. 70-87.

Supreme Court cases – *Multani* (2006) and *Alberta v. Hutterian Brethren of Wilson Colony* (2009); and Quebec’s Bill 21.

**Week 11: (November 28) Good News and Bad News**

Will Kymlicka, “The Precarious Resilience of Multiculturalism in Canada,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 51:1 (2021), 122-142.

Keith Banting and Debra Thompson, “The Puzzling Persistence of Racial Inequality in Canada,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 54:4 (2021), 870-891.

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**Week 12 (December 5) Conclusion**